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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—We refer our readers to another column, for our chronicle of British abolitionist movements since our last issue.

Three sets of correspondence relating to American affairs have been issued from the Foreign Office. The first relates almost exclusively to the progress of the war in America, and consists largely of reports from various agents to Lord Lyons, and from Lord Lyons to Earl Russell. The second contains the correspondence which has passed between Mr. Mason and Earl Russell. Mr. Mason appears to have pressed the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs very closely in regard to the recognition of the Confederate States, and also as to the blockade of Southern ports. Earl Russell does not allow himself to give any countenance to the claims of Mr. Mason. He acknowledges the receipt of his letters, and little else. The third series consists of the correspondence which has passed between Mr. Adams, the American Minister, and the Foreign Office in respect to the Alabama. Much of it had already been published.

Messrs. Macmillan and Co. have published, in a handsome octavo volume, the "Letters of Historicus on Some Questions of International Law," reprinted from the *Times*, with considerable additions. They present an admirable exposition of the law and custom of nations in recognising or refusing to recognise new States or kingdoms,

and in the application of these laws and customs the writer proves conclusively that as yet the Southern Confederacy in America has no claim whatever to be admitted into the family of nations.

Under the title of "The South as it Is; or, Twenty Years' Experience in the Southern States of America," Messrs. Saunders, Otley, and Co., have just published a work by the Rev. T. D. Ozanne, M.A.

It is stated in the telegrams from New York that the *Peterhoff*, private merchant steamer, of about 860 tons, from London to the Mexican port of Matamoras, with British clearance and Mexican consular manifest, had been seized by Admiral Wilkes within sight of the harbour of St. Thomas, whence she was steaming on her way to Mexico, after having put in to coal. She was ordered in charge of a prize crew, by Admiral Wilkes, to Key West, for adjudication before the Federal prize court at that station, although it is affirmed that she had not a single contraband article in her cargo. This vessel, however, is the same, mentioned in the last letter of "Anonymous"* to the *Daily News*. She quitted London on the 3rd of January last, laden with material and munitions of war, and in the middle of February her clearance had not been registered.

A Confederate loan for 3,000,000*l.* sterling has been taken up in London, Liver-

* Vide *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society's Tract No. III.*, "British Aid to the Confederates." (Ed. A. S. R.)

pool, Amsterdam, Paris, and Frankfort. It is stated that 15,000,000*l.* were applied for on the part of speculators. The loan came out at a premium of 5*½* per cent. The security offered is cotton, at the rate of 5*½**d.* a pound, to be delivered in the interior within ten miles of a railway or a stream navigable to the ocean, the parties to take the risk of running the blockade. It is alleged to be exclusively a "cotton loan."

Parliamentary.—On Monday, 23rd ult., Lord Stratheden brought forward a motion for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy of slaveholders. He was answered by Earl Russell, who stated that Government was not prepared, at present, to take such a step, and he trusted no further debate on the subject would arise.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Fitzgerald asked a question respecting the correspondence between the British and the American Governments, relating to the alleged violation of neutral rights. Lord Palmerston said he hoped, as the difficulties in the regulation of the matter were merely of detail, that they would be adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties.

AFRICA.—Advices from *Lagos* state that Commodore Wilmot had returned from a visit to the King of Dahomey. He was received with every mark of respect, and, in honour of the occasion, eight men were sacrificed. At his special request, another was spared. "The victim was thrown to him from the platform," and was transferred to the *Rattlesnake*, where he was enlisted as a seaman. It is said that the King offered to place Whydah in the hands of the Commodore, provided the British Government sent a Governor. He also said, that if he at once complied with the wishes of the Government respecting the slave-trade and the customs of the country, he would in all probability be poisoned the next day; but promised that if the Commodore would return in six months, every thing should be settled to his satisfaction. No treaty was signed.

His Excellency Major Blackall, the new Governor of Sierra Leone, had been to the Sherbro, and issued a proclamation by which Her Majesty's Government declares that the territories known as Quia, Bendoo, and Char, the Bargroo, and Sherbro and Turtle Islands, are formally annexed to Sierra Leone, their limits are defined, and the laws of Sierra Leone are declared to be in force. Taxes are to be collected, and all goods imported direct to the Sherbro are to pay the same duties as at Freetown, Sierra Leone. The amount of cotton exported was greater than during any previous year.

The slave-trade is said to be now carried on under the French flag, but it had much

diminished. An American slaver, with 1400 slaves, and a Portuguese schooner, with 490, had contrived to get away.

UNITED STATES.—*Congressional.*—The Senate had passed a Bill for the enrolment and conscription of the Militia of the United States. During its discussion numerous pleas for exemption were brought forward, but overruled. Members of Congress are as liable as private persons, and, if draughted, must either serve, procure a substitute, or pay 300 dollars for that purpose. Governors of States, Judges of States' Courts, &c., and a few other officials, are alone exempt. A motion made by Mr. Charles Sumner to exempt the clergy of Massachusetts, of whom there are 1500, was rejected. All able-bodied male citizens between the ages of 20 and 45, and all aliens and emigrants within the same ages who have declared their intention to become citizens, are to be enrolled, liable to conscription. The first call to be made on citizens between the ages of 20 and 35, and unmarried citizens between the ages of 35 and 45; the second on all persons subject to military duty under the Act. Also a Bill authorizing the President, in all domestic and foreign wars, to issue letters of marque. The authority conferred by the Act is limited to three years. A proposal to grant this authority for the suppression of the rebellion only was voted down during the discussion of the Bill. Also a Bill establishing a national system of banking, based on Federal securities. Also an amendment to the Negro Enlistment Act, that negroes shall not be commissioned in the service except as company officers of exclusively negro companies. Also an Act authorising the President to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* at his discretion.

The Committee on Foreign Relations had reported unanimously against foreign interference.

The whole of the foregoing measures, as also a Bill indemnifying the President for recent suspensions of the *Habeas Corpus*, were passed by the House of Representatives.

Two members from Louisiana had been admitted to seats in the latter.

The Bill to admit Colorado and Nevada as States of the Union, which had passed the Senate, failed to pass in the House of Representatives, the latter refusing to suspend the rules for its consideration. No Bills to assist any States in emancipation have been passed by Congress.

It was expected that, under the new Conscription Act, President Lincoln would call out more troops within a fortnight.

Congress adjourned on the 4th ult.

The War.—No decisive movement had taken place, on either side, up to the last dates.

The Federal commanders of the vessels

blockading Charleston have forwarded an official refutation of General Beauregard's report that the blockade was raised. They declare they never quitted the blockading line usually occupied by them, and that no vessel of any description crossed the bar after the Confederate rams returned to Charleston.

General Stuart's cavalry attacked the Federals stationed at Hartwood Church, Virginia, on the 25th February. After a sharp skirmish the Confederates were repulsed with a loss of three officers and a number of men. Forty of the Federals were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. On the night of the 25th, the Federal picket guard near Centreville was surrounded by 100 Confederates and captured. A large force of Confederate cavalry crossed the Rappahannock the same night at Kelly's Ford, with the intention, it was thought, of making a raid upon Stafford.

The Confederate General Wheeler, with his whole force, was between Columbia and Franklin, Tennessee, on the 25th, kidnapping all able-bodied negroes in the vicinity, and sending them South.

In an engagement which took place near Mount Stirling the Confederates were defeated, and some 200 of their number captured, together with all the spoils they had collected.

The latest news from the South-West states that the Confederates, under General Roddy, were surprised and routed at Insucumbra, Alabama, on the 23rd, by Colonel Corwan, with a loss of 200 prisoners and a number of cannon and waggons.

Richmond papers of the 5th March report from Savannah, ten o'clock on the evening of the 3rd, that the Federal fleet commenced bombarding Fort McAlister at eight o'clock in the morning. The firing continued heavily during the whole day.

A battle took place on the 5th between the Confederates under Van Dorn, and the Federals under Coburn, at Springville, Tennessee, thirteen miles south of Franklin. The fight lasted all day, and resulted in the defeat of the Unionists. The Federal forces consisted of three regiments of infantry, 500 cavalry, and one battery of artillery. Nearly all the Federal infantry were cut to pieces or captured, but the cavalry and artillery escaped. The Confederate forces consisted of infantry, with heavy artillery. General Gilbert is severely censured for not sending reinforcements to Coburn from Franklin.

The Blockade.—The British steamer, *Queen of the Wave*, having run ashore near Charleston, had been captured by the blockading force.

Another British steamer, the *Douro*, had been captured off Cape Fear, on the 9th March, by the Federal gun-boat, *Quaker City*.

The steamer *Peterhoff*, from London for Matamoras, has been captured off St. Thomas, and sent to Key West.

The Confederate steamer *Oreto* was said to be blockaded in Kingston by two Federal vessels.

Accounts from Havanna to the 15th February, reported that one steamer and three sailing vessels, laden with cotton, had recently arrived at the West Indies from Confederate ports.

The steamers *Ruby* and *Douglas*, from Nassau, ran the blockade, and entered Charleston harbour a few days after.

Miscellaneous.—Colonel Ernest Roumaine had been officially received at the Department of State, and presented his credentials as Charge d'Affaires for Hayti. Mr. Seward intended entertaining him at a dinner, to which the whole corps diplomatic was to be invited.

Mr. Seward had resolutely declined the last offer of mediation made by the Emperor of the French.

The Federal debt up to March 1st, 1863, was estimated at 868,000,000 dollars. This estimate is said to be accurate.

On the 6th March, a negro, who had committed an outrage upon a young white girl, was being taken from the court-room to the gaol, Detroit, under escort of the military, when an attempt to rescue him was made by a gang of rowdies. The crowd was fired upon, and one man killed and several wounded. Being foiled in their attempt to get possession of the negro, the mob perpetrated the most horrible outrages upon the coloured people residing in the vicinity of the gaol. Houses were gutted and burned, and the inmates maltreated, and in many instances killed. Ten or fifteen lives were lost, and as many houses burned. All the available military, and a regiment in the interior of the State, were sent for.

An excited meeting of the New-York Chamber of Commerce had taken place. The meeting was called to discuss the burning of the *Jacob Bell* by the *Alabama*. A Committee was appointed to report what measures are proper to adopt concerning the burning of the *Jacob Bell* by a pirate fitted out and supplied in England. The President of the Chamber intimated that a war with England was a possibility, and one not to be dreaded. England's neutrality was denounced, and the conduct of England towards American merchants declared to be a disgrace to the age. Efforts should be made to call the attention of British merchants to the circumstances, and it was thought that multitudes would respond.

The Louisiana planters had accepted General Banks's proposal that negroes, who shall return to the plantations and work during the period of one year, shall be com-

pensated by the planters. Negroes refusing these terms would be employed on public works.

The appraisers of the slave property of one Charles Carroll, deceased, one of the largest slaveholders in Maryland, had made their returns to the Orphans' Court, assessing the value of 130 slaves at an average of only five dollars each. This, they say, was the highest rate they could name, after consulting with numerous slaveowners and dealers. One slavedealer told the appraisers he would not give five hundred dollars for the whole lot. This was considered a striking illustration of the depreciation of slave property by the rebellion, and as likely to have a powerful influence in the State.

Rebeldom.—Resolutions had been introduced into the Confederate Congress, that President Davis shall, on the 1st May next, withdraw the diplomatic agents from foreign capitals, the Governments of which shall not have recognised the South. Also that, after May next, foreign consuls shall not be allowed to exercise any power in the Confederate States, except upon an *exequatur* asked from and granted by the Confederate Government. A resolution had also been presented, that the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon, in offering the mediation of the European Powers, was highly gratifying to the Government and the people of the Confederate States, and that the hope is indulged that the Emperor's wise and magnanimous movement may soon eventuate in the establishment of relations of close commercial amity and enduring concord between the French Government and the Confederate States.

Gold was being quoted in Richmond at 350 per cent. premium.

WEST INDIES.—We give all the items of intelligence possessing any interest for our readers, which we have been able to cull from our latest files of West-India papers.

Jamaica.—The Immigration question is causing serious trouble in Jamaica. It is broadly stated that the legal obligations incurred by the planters are far outbalanced by the non-performance of contracts on the part of the Coolies, and that "the sufferings, misery, and injustice practised are a crying shame to humanity." It is alleged that, as a rule, the Coolies are worse off than were slaves under the old system, as there is no pecuniary interest at stake in preserving their lives, so that the aged and sick and feeble are disregarded, and left to linger out their existence as best they may. For bringing these matters under public notice, in a letter addressed to the Editor of the *Guardian*, so far back as the 21st of September last, the Rev. Henry Clark, of Westmoreland parish, has been cited to defend himself against a charge of libelling the Government, and it is supposed that a verdict against him will be

obtained, so strong are the influences brought to bear for this end.*

Barbados.—A large public meeting had been held at Bridgetown, on the 23rd February, on the subject of the competition between the free-labour sugar of the West Indies, and the slave-labour sugar of the Spanish colonies. The Rev. P. B. Austin, Vice-President of the *Agricultural Society*, took the chair, and there were present a great number of gentlemen interested in the sugar manufacture of the island. A Petition to the Houses of Parliament—the text of which will be given in our next—was unanimously adopted. Similar meetings were projected in other parts of the island.

British Guiana.—One of the class of labourers, named Yu Kum Sin, belonging to the *Versailles* estate, on the west bank of the Demerara river, had been discharged, as convalescent, from the hospital. On returning to the estate, he was set to do some light work, and, while engaged on it, was most severely flogged by one Rose Glasgow, the woman driver, by order of the manager, one George Porter. He was taken back to hospital the same evening, but died in the morning. The dispenser in the hospital, one G. R. Simpson, was ordered, by the manager, to have the remains interred, but Mr. Simpson refused, and requested the advice of Mr. Fleming, Stipendiary Magistrate, who approved of his course, took down his deposition, and ordered an inquest. The jury returned a verdict of "natural death," though "the Doctor's evidence went to shew that Yu Kum Sin had disease of the heart, and that his death had been accelerated by excitement, such as a beating would cause." The dispenser to the hospital was almost immediately dismissed.

Martinique.—The planters of Martinique complain of the low prices of sugar, and have reduced the rate of labourers' wages, and the overseers' salaries. They ascribe their present position to the operation of the decrees admitting foreign sugars into the French markets, at a lower rate of duty, and allowing drawback upon its exportation after being refined. As a result, the importations from Cuba and Porto Rico are said to have largely augmented, and the price of the staple has been reduced to the minimum at which it can be grown. A disease had broken out amongst the coffee plants, and great fears were entertained lest the whole of this important cultivation should be arrested in consequence.

Surinam.—Private advices state that the utmost tranquillity prevails throughout this colony, notwithstanding the excitement

* *Vide* Letter of our Correspondent. (Ed A. S. R.)

which might have been anticipated on the part of the slaves, at the prospect of emancipation. On New-year's day—the negro's holiday, and one on which much inebriety used to be common—the usual rejoicings took place, but on a far more extensive scale than was ever known. The slaves maintained perfect order, and seemed impressed only with a feeling of subdued joy, speaking of the coming day of freedom with deep gratitude. The overseers everywhere bear testimony to the extraordinary alacrity of the slaves to perform their tasks. Even those hitherto refractory, go willingly to the field, and are obedient and civil. Some who had fled, had returned to their masters, and resumed their labours.

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

WE resume our record of the proceedings in the two Houses of Parliament, which have any bearing upon anti-slavery questions.

First in order as in importance are the passages in the Queen's speech, setting forth the policy of the Government on the American question.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

(Thursday, 5th February.)

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

The LORD CHANCELLOR read the Queen's speech, and from it we take the following:

"Her Majesty has abstained from taking any step with a view to induce a cessation of the conflict between the contending parties in the North-American States, because it has not yet seemed to Her Majesty that any such overtures could be attended with a probability of success.

"Her Majesty has viewed with the deepest concern the desolating warfare which still rages in those regions; and she has witnessed with heartfelt grief the severe distress and suffering which that war has inflicted upon a large class of Her Majesty's subjects, but which have been borne by them with noble fortitude and with exemplary resignation. It is some consolation to Her Majesty to be led to hope that this suffering and this distress are rather diminishing than increasing, and that some revival of employment is beginning to take place in the manufacturing districts."

The Address was moved by Earl DUDLEY, and seconded by the Earl of GRANARD.

NON-INTERVENTION IN THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE.

EARL DUDLEY said: Her Majesty's Government had prudently rejected the proposition made by France regarding the war in America. Any such proposition must, in the present temper of the Americans, be ill-advised. No change for the better has taken place in American affairs since that proposition was made by France, and therefore the time had not yet arrived for our interference. Of course we desired, for the sake of ourselves and of the Americans, that the war amongst them should terminate as speedily as possible.

The EARL OF GRANARD approved of non-intervention in the American war, and complimented the Lancashire operatives on their patience.

The EARL OF DERBY: I must turn to another topic which has engaged the painful attention of all Her Majesty's subjects; and I would say that I have no cause to find fault with the manner in which Her Majesty's Government has acted in the desolating warfare that is being carried on in the States of America. I may regret that Her Majesty's Government did not accede to the wishes of the Emperor of the French, and endeavour to use such good offices as might lead to the two parties themselves reflecting on the effects of the war in which they are engaged; but before I venture to censure, I must say that Her Majesty's Government were in possession of better information as to what would be the consequences of such a step, and I prefer to abide until the information received from Her Majesty's Minister abroad is before me. But your lordships must recollect, that before any mediation could be effective on the part of the neutral Powers, they must be satisfied that the parties between whom mediation was proposed were satisfied with the terms on which mediation was offered. The question in the present instance is not of degree, but of fundamental principle. On one side the struggle is for union, on the other side for separation: consequently, any nation offering to mediate must decide whether they will proceed on the principle of union or of separation; and that difficulty must be met at the outset. It had been said by many that the time had arrived when Great Britain ought to recognise the Southern States. I cannot bring my mind to the conclusion that it was wise or politic to recognise the South. In all precedents there is one of two circumstances present to justify the recognition of a struggling State: Either although the recognition of the revolting State has not been recognised by the parent as *un fait accompli*, yet the war was at an end, as in the case of the South-American colonies which revolted from Spain; or where, in the interests of humanity, other nations determined to put an end to a desolating war, the recognition was followed by an intervention, as in the cases of Belgium separating from Holland, and Greece from Turkey. I believe that the restoration of the States to their former position is absolutely impossible. Even at an early period of the war it was felt that if the North separated from the South, any cordial reconciliation was impossible; but as events proceeded this feeling became stronger. It is my firm conviction that there is no possibility to re-establish the Union. At the same time they must recollect that the entire Southern seaboard is in the hands of the North, and while that is so, it is not possible to say that Great Britain ought to interfere by force of arms, and dictate the terms on which the war must cease. I approve of the entire neutrality which Her Majesty's Government has carried out. It is impossible for any man not to desire that this desolating warfare may be brought to a close, and I am sure that any Government would take the earliest possible opportunity to tender its good offices; but at present there is no prospect but that the war must go on till either

party shall be exhausted. At the same time I cannot entertain the opinion that the cessation of the war would restore Great Britain to the position in which we have been with respect to the supply of cotton before the war broke out.

EARL RUSSELL: Passing to the question upon which the noble earl spoke at considerable length—I mean that of the United States—I believe Her Majesty's Government have exercised a wise discretion in not giving that advice which the Emperor of the French proposed we should give to one of the belligerents; and for this reason, that a time may come when those belligerents, exhausted by the struggle, may wish to refer to some other Powers to assist them in procuring that peace which is so desirable. As to the question of recognition, the noble earl is aware that there are two kinds of recognition—one in which you assist a Power against its adversary. Such were in old times the cases of Holland and Portugal, and, in modern times, Belgium and Greece. But no one, I believe, in this country, desires a forcible intervention on behalf of either of the parties to the American struggle. The questions of Holland and Portugal, and Belgium and Greece, were manageable matters compared to the dreadful importance of attempting to give victory to one of the parties to the struggle in America. But recognition takes place under other circumstances, namely, when it is obvious that one of the parties has been exhausted in war, and when the attempt to make the other submit to its authority has failed. The American struggle has not nearly reached that state of things: that struggle, in different parts of America, is kept up, I will not say with undiminished, but with increased power and increased rancour. Therefore nothing could be more unwise than at present to have recourse to the plan recommended. One thing might be the result of this struggle, namely, the subjugation of the South by the North; and in that event the Union might be re-formed. If feelings of attachment could be revived, and the North and the South were again united in one, no one would rejoice more than myself. If, on the other hand, the North were to fail, and separation were finally decreed by events, I should be glad to see peace established on those terms. But there would be one event which would be a calamity to the world, and more especially to the negro race, and that would be the subjugation of the North by the South. One of the first consequences of such subjugation must be, that the North must renounce all her former policy, must put down a free press and free discussion. That would produce anarchy, and the cause of liberty would suffer in America for a century to come. I hope that whatever may be the end of this contest, such may not be the result. I trust we shall see, at the end of this struggle, the people of America enjoying—whether in one or two great Republics—independence and power. For my own part, before this contest began I rejoiced in the progress of the United States of America. The flourishing state of a people descended from the same ancestors as ourselves, and possessing laws of personal liberty similar to our own, was a sight in which Englishmen might rejoice. I should indeed lament, if, at the end of the

struggle we should find that people deprived of those benefits and privileges which dignify and adorn mankind.

The EARL of MALMESBURY agreed with the policy of neutrality pursued by the Government with regard to American affairs, though he regretted that the Government had not joined the Emperor of the French in his offers of mediation. By not doing so he thought we had lost an opportunity of doing honour to our principles, and shewing our good feeling towards a nation of common blood and language with ourselves. There were probably thousands in America who would have gladly hailed such an attempt to mediate. But though he did not advocate a policy of interference, he did hope that the Government would be able to shew they had striven to mitigate some of the horrors with which the war had been characterized. An instance of diabolical cruelty had recently been perpetrated by the United States Government, in having, contrary to all the common laws of war, publicly declared medicines and surgical instruments contraband of war, thereby declaring, in plain English, that the wounded and dying enemy should be deprived of all assistance and chance of life.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Thursday, 5th February.)

NON-INTERVENTION IN THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE.

Mr. CALTHORPE, in moving the adoption of the Address, said:

He cordially supported the Government in their determination to adhere to strict non-intervention in American affairs. He could understand that any time in last year they might have been inclined to join with France in mediatory efforts; but from the first of January, when the proclamation of freedom to the negroes was adhered to by Mr. Lincoln, he thought no Government would have ventured to interfere. It might be said that Mr. Lincoln proclaimed freedom to those over whom he had no control, and that those who were in his power he consigned to Slavery rather than admitted to freedom. But Mr. Lincoln had remained literally within the constitution. He had no power as President of a great federation of States to act against any institution of those States. But as commander-in-chief he had a right to enact any measure which might tend to bring about the discomfiture and defeat of those whom he regarded as rebels. The proclamation must be regarded only as a military expedient, and not as a political or moral obligation in the cause of freedom. It was also true that the proclamation was only issued when other means had failed. It seemed as if the majority of the Northern Americans were either indifferent to, or in favour of, the continuance of Slavery. And unless this proclamation had a most important effect during the two years of Mr. Lincoln's presidential office, the Democratic party coming into power would make terms with the South on any conditions they chose to impose. It was difficult not to have some feelings of contempt for the Federal Government. They had permitted more extravagance, more corruption, and more pe-

culatation than was ever before witnessed in the world, and had violated personal liberty and the liberty of the press. Combined with this the well-informed classes of the people had been guilty of abject moral cowardice. General Scott, at the outset, and other leading men subsequently, had counselled separation, but there was not a man to be found with sufficient moral courage to stand up and attempt to stem the current of the popular lust of power—not one had dared to try to calm the popular frenzy. It seemed that not an American would venture on any public platform who was not prepared to advocate the most extreme opinions in the most virulent manner. On the other hand, it was impossible not to feel admiration for the patriotism displayed by the people of the South, for the dauntless courage of the troops and the brilliant strategy of their superior officers. Personally, the Southern people were not answerable for the institution of Slavery; and the speeches lately delivered at an episcopal convention shewed the force of the moral obliquity occasioned by familiarity with it. England was in part to blame for the present state of things, by refusing, eighteen years ago, to agree to a differential duty on sugar in favour of that which was free grown; even though we were keeping a squadron on the coast of Africa to suppress the slave-trade at a cost of a million a year and many valuable lives. There was now a chance of the entire abolition of Slavery if the proclamation were fully carried out; for that proclamation had not been addressed to the Southern States only, but virtually to the Brazils and to Spain as well; for if the slaves should be emancipated in America, but ten years, or certainly not twenty, would elapse before the negroes of Brazil and Spain would be free also. Whatever might be the conflict of opinion and argument, based on the same premises, but tending to different conclusions, which prevailed on this question, he had no doubt they should always see shining with steadfast brilliancy the sacred right of human freedom. He had attempted to advocate a great cause, which he believed was the real, though possibly the indirect origin of the war, and he was convinced the good sense and right feeling of the people of England would always prevent any Government from attempting to interfere with or counteract the possible, and he hoped probable, results of such a proclamation. The honourable gentleman concluded by moving the Address, which was an echo of the Queen's speech.

Mr. T. BAZLEY, in seconding the Address, said, that in common with every feeling man in this realm, he deeply deplored the grievous calamities which had befallen their brethren across the wide Atlantic. They there saw brother engaging against brother in mortal combat, and he should have been glad to have seen some intimation that there was a prospect of a termination of that fatal strife; but he feared it would continue for a long period; and he admitted with sorrow its continuance would probably be attended with the prolongation of the distress in the manufacturing districts of this great country. The sufferings of the people in those districts had been very acute, and they had behaved well under their difficulties; but he believed it was

not at all desired that their labour should be renewed to them from the produce of Slavery in any form. In the struggle in America this country was deprived of a twofold advantage. They had not only the loss of their raw material to contend with, but the loss of very important markets for a large portion of our manufactured products. They must look for new fields of supply, and also for new markets.

Mr. DISRAELI said: I know there is nothing more difficult than to ascertain the precise character of cotemporary events, though we all admit there is no knowledge more valuable to statesmen and politicians. I am bound to say, that from the first—and all that subsequently occurred has only confirmed me in the conviction—I always looked upon that which is occurring in America in the light of a revolution, and of a great revolution. Great revolutions, whatever may be the alleged cause, are not likely to commence or conclude with precipitation. When this civil war commenced the United States were colonies. We should not forget that such communities do not cease to be colonies because they cease to be dependent. They were not only colonies, but were colonizing, and existed under all the conditions of colonial life except that of mere political dependence. But for several years I think all unimpassioned men must have been conscious that in that community there were smouldering elements that indicated the possibility of change, and perhaps of violent change. The immense increase of the population—the still greater increase of wealth—the introduction in large numbers as citizens of foreign races that were not brought up under the laws and customs which were, perhaps, attractive to a more limited and homogeneous race—the character of the political constitution—the absence of any theatre for the ambitious and refined intellects of the country, which deteriorated the public spirit and lowered the public morality—above all, the increasing influence of the United States upon the political fortunes of Europe, were circumstances which indicated the more than possibility that the mere colonial character of those communities might be suddenly and violently subverted, and those imperial characteristics appear that seem to be the destiny of man. And I cannot conceal from myself the conviction, that those in this House who may be young enough to live to witness the conclusion and ultimate consequences of this civil war, will find that the America they can recognise when the waters have subsided, will be a different America from that which was known to our fathers, and even to this generation, of which they have had so much experience. It will be, I believe, an America of armies—an America of diplomacy—an America of rival States and manœuvring Cabinets—an America of frequent turbulence, and probably of frequent war. With these views, I have myself, during the last session, exerted whatever little influence I might possess, in endeavouring to dissuade my friends from embarrassing Her Majesty's Government in that position of politic and dignified reserve, which they appear to me to have taken on this question. Looking upon the transactions across the Atlantic as events not of a mere casual cha-

racter, but such as probably may influence this country, as the great French revolution has influenced and is still influencing Europe, it appears to me that there was on our part due to the existing authorities in America a large measure of deference in the difficulties they had to encounter. At the same time it was natural to feel—and I would not disguise or wish to disguise that feeling—a just respect for those Southern States which represent a vast population of men struggling for some of the great objects of existence—for independence and for power. But it did appear to me that the course which Her Majesty's Ministers had resolved upon taking was one upon the whole honourable to this country, and would prove beneficial to all classes of the community. I was therefore surprised when I found that, in the autumn, Her Majesty's Ministers commissioned one of the Cabinet to repair to the chief seats of industry in this country, and, as far as I could collect, entirely change the policy that had hitherto been supported and sanctioned. It was not an accident; the declaration was formal; it was made avowedly with the consent and sanction of Her Majesty's Government. And what did that declaration mean? It meant, that the Southern States ought to be recognised; for if it were true that they had created an army and navy and a people, we were bound to recognise their political existence. It appears that that declaration is inconsistent with the course of conduct previously recommended by the Government, and nothing occurred in the interval that could justify the change. It is most unfortunate that, on a subject of so much importance, and on which the Government took at first such a dignified position, there should be exhibited by Ministers such contradictory conduct and such conflicting opinions, and that they should have felt it to be their duty to communicate this vacillation of opinion and inconsistency of judgment to the whole nation. We are told by the Minister that should be best informed on the topic—the Minister for Foreign Affairs—what, in the opinion of the Government, are the motives for the war. According to that opinion, there was a desire on the part of the North to establish dominion, and on the part of the South to achieve independence. It may have been indiscreet on the part of Her Majesty's Ministers to have made that public declaration of their opinion; but what are we to say of the subsequent definitions of this contest that have been supplied by the Government? Only a fortnight ago a member of the Cabinet said that the whole cause of the war was the existence of Slavery, and denounced it as a pestilent institution. The President of the Board of Trade thus spoke a fortnight ago the opinion of the Government; but on another day we find another eminent member of the Cabinet recommending as the only specific the recognition of Southern independence, and he was immediately followed by a colleague, who said that none of the conditions on which independence should be recognised exist in the South. This variety of opinion is so prevalent amongst Her Majesty's Ministers, that one of them—not a member of the Cabinet, but one whose lips are steeped in the gravity of the

Privy Council—recently informed us, that in the opinion of the Government the Lord of Hosts was on the Southern side. I think it is very much to be regretted that Her Majesty's Government did not adhere to the reserve which distinguished them last session on this grave subject. It is to be much deprecated, that unless a change took place in their policy, there should not have been more silence during the recess as regards their individual opinions.

(Monday, 23rd February.)

SALE OF A NEGRO REGIMENT TO THE FRENCH EMPEROR.

Mr. BUXTON begged to call the attention of the Government to the purchase and transportation from Egypt of a negro regiment by the Emperor of the French. The conscription in Egypt was remarkably hard, and the way in which negro recruits were obtained was virtually a kind of slave-trade. They were obtained, he believed, by a kind of purchase from the chief, and there was scarcely a negro serving in an Egyptian regiment who was not serving against his own will. Nothing could justify the course adopted, except it was deemed necessary for the defence of the country. Nothing could justify such a conscription when the soldiers were sold to a foreign potentate to be made use of in any way he pleased. In this case it was intended to send them to Mexico to perform a duty that European soldiers could not perform, and there was no reason for supposing that the negro soldier would not also suffer by the climate. The consideration given by the Emperor of the French might be money, or might be some other *quid pro quo*, but the transaction could be characterized as little else than the slave-trade. A few years since the Emperor of the French said he would no longer countenance the slave trade, because France was to march at the head of civilization; but unfortunately, when the French Emperor used a pretty phrase of that kind they might assume that something afterwards would occur in contravention of it.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON: My hon. friend has referred to a transaction which is a very irregular and unfortunate one, and in some of its details of execution was liable to greater censure than my hon. friend has applied to it. The facts of the case are these: The French Government, finding that the climate of Mexico and the exposure of French troops in that country occasioned sickness, thought that, by enlisting a number of Africans, they might get persons more able from their constitution to undergo exposure while on service in Mexico. They sent orders to Egypt to endeavour to enlist 1000 Africans for service in Mexico. The late Pasha of Egypt was a very easy-tempered man, and very much disposed to go even beyond the demands made upon him. The system of administration in Egypt is still, I am sorry to say, in many respects tainted with the barbarous signs of times gone by, and amongst them is the practice of compelling forced labour and using persons whether they will or no, for the purposes of employment. The Pasha of Egypt, without a moment's delay, ordered a regiment of 450 Nubians to march from the fortress they occu-

pied down to Alexandria. They were got to embark in a French frigate without, I believe, at all knowing why, or where they were going. That was irregular, for the Egyptian troops are troops belonging to the Sultan, who is sovereign of Egypt, and the inhabitants are his subjects. It is not competent for the vassal of any sovereign to dispose of any portion of the military force without the authority of the sovereign himself, and the Pasha had no right whatever to send his regiment of Nubians to serve under a foreign sovereign without the previous sanction and consent of his own sovereign. That was not probably the intention of the French Government, for their instruction was to enlist a certain number of Africans for their service; but it was not consistent with regularity for the Egyptian Government to commit an act similar in violence and cruelty to that lately committed at Warsaw. There they seized in the streets every man they thought fit for military duty or hard labour, whatever his employment might be. In Egypt the Government tore the negro soldier from his home, his family, and his friends, and put him on board a tender, to be transferred into this French frigate bound for Mexico. I believe that the French Government that expressed such a strong dislike and condemnation of that cruel operation performed in Warsaw, of seizing persons to serve in the Russian army, will feel that this is the same kind of cruelty, or worse; for these negroes have been carried to an unhealthy climate; and in the other case the persons seized are distributed amongst the Russian army, and there is power to repair the wrong should the persons who seized them be disposed to do so. Her Majesty's Government have expressed to the French Government their opinion that the arrangement was quite irregular, that it was a violation of the rights of the Sultan, and that the Pasha of Egypt was not entitled to dispose of the subjects of the Sultan without the Sultan's consent.

BRITISH CONSUL AT ABBEOKUTA.

Mr. D. SEYMOUR called the attention of the House to the fact that a British Consul at Abbeokuta, in Western Africa, on his arrival, and on presenting his credentials to the native authorities, was peremptorily refused permission to remain in that capacity, and was compelled to return to England. He also asked the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he could explain the cause of the rejection of a British representative, and whether any steps had been taken by the Foreign Office in consequence. It appeared that a Mr. Taylor, having been appointed Consul, proceeded inland from Lagos, and, on his arrival at Abbeokuta, obtained, through the interposition of the Rev. Mr. Townsend, an audience of the King, who, finding that he came there neither as a merchant nor as a Missionary, but merely to establish friendly relations between the country he represented and the King, refused to receive him; and he afterwards received notice, that unless he left Abbeokuta before night the roof of his house would be burned over him. The cause of this conduct on the part of the King was stated to be this: Two of his wives had escaped from his court and taken refuge at Lagos. They were pursued by a

chieftain of some note, who, on demanding their restoration, instead of being treated with civility, was brought before the police court and sentenced to three months' hard labour. If this were true, the sooner some explanation were given, and attention paid to this state of things, the better. It was also stated that no previous notice had been given to the King that a Consul would be sent, and that the Missionaries had not given the assistance to Mr. Taylor which might be expected from persons in their position. He hoped to hear that these statements were unfounded. Abbeokuta contained 100,000 inhabitants, and 3000 British residents; it was the centre of a great cotton district; and from the facilities afforded by its position for opening up the commerce of Africa, and humanizing the African race, it was highly important that British feeling should be represented in that town.

Mr. LAYARD could not pretend to say what were the true motives of the people of Abbeokuta for refusing to receive Mr. Consul Taylor. The motives alleged by them were, that we had not given them the efficient assistance we ought to have done in the war with the King of Dahomey, and that Mr. Taylor's arrival had not been announced in the proper manner. In point of fact, however, the head man of the tribe had requested Mr. Taylor to be sent: it was therefore foolish in them to say they had not received due intimation of his arrival. He (Mr. Layard) believed that the true reason was, that the Abbeokutans had not been behaving well of late, and we had been obliged to give them a little good advice. They had been carrying on an unnecessary war with a friendly tribe, and had plundered a considerable amount of property belonging to Dr. Baikie, who was at the head of the Niger expedition. The chiefs were angry with us for remonstrating on that subject, and they had said that they would not have any Englishman living amongst them except in the capacity of a Missionary or a merchant. The Government found no fault whatever with Mr. Taylor, who had discharged his duties with ability. The Government had informed the Abbeokutans that they must apologize for their treatment to Mr. Taylor, and also make reparation, not only for the pillage to which he had referred, but for the robbery and murder of British traders and persons under British protection. With regard to the King's two wives, he (Mr. Layard) really could not give the honourable member any information.

Mr. KINNAIRD said he was in hopes that his honourable friend would have asked whether there would be any further attempt to send a Consul to Abbeokuta. With regard to the allegation that the Missionaries were opposed to a Consul being placed there, he had documents in his possession which enabled him to give a complete denial to that statement.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

(Monday, March 23rd.)

AMERICA.

THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

LORD STRATHEDEN, in calling attention to the question of the propriety of acknowledging, in concert with other neutral Powers, the Southern Confederacy as an independent State, said he

had not been able to state on an earlier occasion the exact view with which this subject was about to be submitted to their lordships, owing to the absence of the noble earl the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, whom he was glad to see now in his place. It was not his intention to raise any question as to the past proceedings of Her Majesty's Government in reference to American affairs: his proposition had relation altogether to the future, and to facts well known. About the close of last Session, it was generally alleged, and no doubt with truth, that the Governments of France and England were acting simultaneously and in concert with regard to the difficulties which existed in America. Since that time the policy of the two Governments had in some degree diverged, or, in the memorable phrase of a noble earl not now in his place (the Earl of Derby), the two Governments had seemed to drift from one another. In November last the Emperor of the French desired to make a proposal, but was held back by the decision of Her Majesty's Government. In January, the Emperor entered upon another line of action, framed with a view to terminate hostilities, but the Government of this country were again unable to agree with him. Neither of these propositions having led to any practical result, all attempts at intervention, mediation, and remonstrance were exhausted by the reply of Mr. Seward to the despatch of M. Drouyn de Lhuys. The French Government, however, being still, as ever, anxious to bring the civil war to a close, the question of recognising the independence of the Southern States might at any moment come before this country, as the question of obtaining an armistice came before it in November. Were it not for the space which Poland now occupied in the cares and councils of the world, the necessity of giving a decision on the independence of the South would probably have arisen ere this. Whenever the moment arrived at which the Government of England must act, it was to be feared that there would be found no definite conviction, either in Parliament or out of doors, as to the course to be pursued. We should then be taken at a disadvantage. It was with a view, therefore, to a distinct and practical result that he had wished to give the noble earl at the head of the Foreign-office an opportunity of expressing his views on this subject. This object could not be attained in any other manner, because a resolution or an address to pledge the action of the Government would be re-isted, and its withdrawal would be thought disastrous by the 8,000,000 of men whose case he now brought before their lordships. By an acknowledgment of Southern independence he meant, in accordance with the authorities on public law, the sending an Ambassador to those States or receiving one from them, the negotiation of a treaty, or the granting of *exequaturs* to Consuls. Such an acknowledgment ought not to be confounded with interference, intervention, mediation, or proceedings of that kind. The noble earl opposite (the Earl of Malmesbury) had expressed an opinion that the acknowledgment of the South would be attended by no material result one way or another. But if the acknowledgment of Southern inde-

pendence were wholly immaterial, how came it that the South had never ceased to ask and the North to deprecate that acknowledgment? How was it that the Southern Confederacy had sent envoys to the great capitals of Europe to demand their recognition, and that the North had endeavoured to intercept these envoys at the risk of war? He had heard, and the statement might have reached their lordships also, that the planters, a year ago, looking to the probability of the acknowledgment of the South, began to sow their cotton-crop, and that they began to plough it up as soon as that hope ceased. An acknowledgment by the great Powers of Europe would, in the first place, remove whatever hope might still linger in Northern minds of bringing the South into subjection. In the next place, it would take away from the Northern press the power of describing the people of eleven great Southern States as rebels. The acknowledgment of neutrals would remove the chance of conquest, and the victories already achieved by the Southern armies would be still more irresistible. Besides this, a separate result would be obtained, for when neutrals had acknowledged the belligerents to be in a position to negotiate, it would put an end to all claims to reconstruct the Union which might prolong the war. It would also emancipate the Government of Washington from the hard necessity of carrying on a hopeless war, which at present weighed upon them. Their lordships would remember the mode in which the diplomacy of France and England in 1609 succeeded in extinguishing the civil war between Spain and Holland, which had lasted the greater part of half a century. If they would remember what then took place, they would know in what form and by what means the present war in America might be adjusted. That diplomacy would not have been attended with such brilliant success if the European Powers had not acknowledged the insurgents. He now approached the arduous task of pointing out the conditions under which neutral Powers were entitled to acknowledge insurgent nations. At the beginning of the session their lordships had been told that acknowledgment might happen with propriety in two cases—where the recognising Power was about to give material support to the insurgents, and where, through the prolongation of hostilities, arms had fallen from the exhausted hands of the belligerents. Whatever might be thought of the justice of that principle, it certainly was not one on which the Powers, either of the Old or the New World, had acted; for a cessation of hostilities had generally followed, instead of preceding, the acknowledgment by neutrals. The United States acknowledged Nicaragua, under the government of Walker, before hostilities had ceased; the United States also acknowledged the independence of the revolted colonies of Spain before the efforts of the mother country to reduce them had ended; and the same Power despatched an ambassador to Hungary in 1848 or 1849, invested with large discretionary powers, which he was to use or to reserve, according to the progress of the insurrection. He would not dwell further on examples taken from the New World, although he might enlarge the illustration by referring to

the conduct of Brazil, which, from being placed in the midst of civil wars and insurgent Governments during the last thirty years, had constantly cases of this kind brought forward for its decision. Passing to the Old World, he found that the French acknowledged the independence of the British North-American possessions long before the efforts of the mother country to reconquer them had been exhausted. It was idle to remark that Lord North, the Minister of the day, went to war with France on that account: it was well known that the cause provoking to war was very different. But even granting that it were so, was a war denounced by all who formed the glory of that epoch as wicked, which marred the reputation of the Minister and depressed his character, to be cited as an authority on international law and public proceedings? Was the Minister of that day, in conjunction with the reigning Sovereign, to be regarded as the heir, *virtute officii*, of the influence and the wisdom of Grotius and Vattel? Of the independence of the South-American Republics the acknowledgment had, no doubt, been tardy. But that tardiness did not entirely express the judgment of the country, for it was reprobated by the brilliant and enlightened Opposition of which the noble lord, now the Secretary of State, was at that time no inconsiderable ornament. Any one, not grossly ignorant of the difficulties which at that time hampered our foreign policy, must admit that there never was an occasion when acknowledgment had been decided less in accordance with principle or the dictates of public law, and more entirely swayed by views of prudence. There was another authority, surpassing all others, and tallying in nearly every point with the question now under consideration. In 1641, the independence of Portugal was acknowledged by France, Great Britain, Sweden, and Holland, within twelve months after the Duke and Duchess of Braganza renounced their allegiance to Spain, notwithstanding that a quarter of a century elapsed before Spain herself consented to join in the recognition. At that time Prussia had not yet come into existence, Russia had not begun to mingle in European affairs, Austria was leagued with Spain by ties of kindred and of policy; so that the four recognising Powers might be said to form a general European tribunal. The decisive battle between the celebrated Schomberg and Don John of Austria was fought in 1665, but it was not till 1668 that the belligerents negotiated. He had examined all the great writers on international law to discover whether there had been any thing in the circumstances of the recognition of Portugal of which they either expressed disapproval, or which would be reprobated by the principles laid down in their works. He had these authorities with him, but would not inflict them on their lordships. But he might refer to the authority of Sir J. Mackintosh, who, in the year 1824, when introducing the question of acknowledging the South-American Republics, alluded with satisfaction to the instance of Portugal as strengthening the principle for which he was then contending. Sir James Mackintosh, their lordships would remember, was the disciple, the successor, and the equal of those great writers who moulded

public law into a science. The only thing required by Europe at that time to justify recognition was, that there should be no hazard of reconquest. It was not correct to say, that according to the law of nations hostilities must have ceased, and the last shilling must have been spent, and the last drop of blood shed, before recognition could take place. What, indeed, could be more cruel than thus unnecessarily to prolong hostilities? The examples of the civil wars between Switzerland and Austria, Spain and Holland, Spain and Portugal, Great Britain and her North-American colonies, and Spain and her South-American colonies, all shewed that you were entitled to acknowledge insurgents when it seemed to you that no hazard of their reconquest any longer existed. It might be asked, could you recognise a country while hostile armies were encamped upon its territory? If you could not, neutral Powers would be compelled to withdraw their Ministers from any country which became the scene of war, or of which the boundaries were unsettled. We ought to have withdrawn our Minister from Spain in 1822; but no one had ever contended for such a construction of international law. He now came to the question, "Is the issue of this contest any longer doubtful?" In discussing this part of the subject, he must first refer to the extraordinary circumstance, that within the last few days the Confederacy had contracted in London, Amsterdam, and Paris, a loan which now stood at the top of the market. That loan rested upon the security of cotton, and, as it was well known to the subscribers that that security would perish if the invasion prospered, the position of the loan must be regarded as an expression of the judgment of the financial world that the issue of the contest is no longer doubtful. What were the views of military men? In November last the Emperor of the French intimated to the Government of Washington his opinion that the reconquest of the Southern States was impossible; in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for the month of October there was an article, supposed to be inspired by the Princes of the House of Orleans who accompanied General McClellan to the field, adopting a similar view; and, as far as our information went, we did not know that any Northern general was of opinion that reconquest was attainable. And supposing that, in the abstract, such a reconquest was possible, the question for neutral Powers was, could it be attained by Mr. Lincoln and his colleagues? Because, as they had not in their armies any man who, like the Duke of Wellington, was capable of controlling and directing a Ministry, by them must it be accomplished, if it was to be accomplished at all. What proof of capacity had this aggressive Government given to the world? Was it to be found in their choice of viceroys, in the superseding and replacing of commanders, or in their firm adherence to a principle, and their opposition to Slavery? At first they vaunted their steady disposition to maintain that institution; then the slaves in the lower States were to be free; then emancipation was to be extended to all States which resisted the Federal authority; then a bankrupt Treasury would buy the slaves at an outlay equal to the

public debt of our country; and, at last, a servile war was indispensable. Were these the means by which the broken fragments of the Union could be welded, or 8,000,000 freemen be reduced to submission? And who was opposed to this Government? Far be it from him to join in the encomiums on the Southern President to which heat or generosity had led; but this much might be hazarded of that extraordinary man—that, amply gifted by nature, he had made the union of political and military excellence his object, and, in a position of unusual danger, had displayed qualities seldom united in the same individual. It should be borne in mind that a new chapter would be opened in the world's history, if, on the great theatre of war in America, those qualities to which men had ever pointed with scorn should triumph over those which had hitherto been always regarded with admiration. It became an important question for consideration, therefore, whether the Government of Mr. Lincoln could conquer its opponents when all confidence in it had ceased to exist, and when it pursued an enterprise, in its capacity to bring which to a successful issue no one had the slightest faith. What better sign, he would ask, of the state of despair and despondency to which it was reduced could be presented than the enlistment of negro regiments? After that and the other evidence which was open to them, noble lords on neither side of the House would, he hoped, refuse to concur with the noble earl the leader of the Opposition, with the capitalists of Europe, and with military men generally, in the opinion that the hazard of conquest in America remained no longer matter of doubt. At that moment, he might add, and throughout the war, Great Britain had consuls at the Southern ports; among others, at Mobile and Charleston. Their presence there was necessary to protection of British interests; and the question was coming on for debate in the Southern Confederacy how far consuls would be permitted to reside in Southern ports who had taken their *accreditation* from the Government of Washington. What, then, he would ask, would be the position of this country if, in a few months, she should be compelled by interests and conveniences to adopt the course which self-respect and justice long ago demanded at her hands? The first ground, then, on which Great Britain ought to exercise her power of acknowledgment was, that unless she meant to withdraw her consuls, honour called upon her to proceed in the course which he advocated. The next ground on which he should rely was that of humanity. His noble friend the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in his despatch in reply to Mr. Mason, in the autumn, had justly stated that the question which was so much debated on both sides of the Atlantic—the question of the right to secede—could not be determined by foreign Governments; but the inference which his noble friend had drawn from that proposition was, that we ought not to acknowledge the insurgents. In that inference he hoped their lordships would not be disposed to concur, because, if they did so, they would then, in reality, be pronouncing it to be their opinion that the insurgents had no right to secede; while, on the other hand, by acceding to

the appeal for recognition, they would be giving no positive decision on the point in dispute. The new Government of France had, he might further observe, been acknowledged in 1849, but by doing so no opinion as to its title had been pronounced. It could not be denied—and Mr. Davis, in his recent message, conspicuously explained—that the Confederacy had suffered wrongs, perhaps unintentional and undesigned, from Great Britain. The French Emperor was deterred from a course which might have served them by the influence of this country. We had forced the Confederates to burn their prizes on the water, and had done away with the chance of their raising privateers. What was even more serious still, after engaging with the Confederacy by our negotiation to maintain the principles laid down in the treaty of Paris upon public law, we had not, as regarded the question of blockade, adhered to those principles. Our partiality towards the Northern States had received an illustration from the despatch of the noble lord dated the 27th of March 1862, and which the Government of Washington had given to the world. In that despatch, while manfully resisting the extortionate demands of Mr. Adams, the noble lord, as a kind of set-off to his austerity, reminded him that allowances had been made to the United States in the arduous war in which they were engaged, and that the public law had been liberally interpreted in their favour. He had no wish to review the policy of his noble friend. Let it be granted that the noble lord was then right in making every allowance to the Government of Washington, and in liberally interpreting the law of nations in favour of the stronger of two belligerents. Still, the inference which he drew was this, that it now rendered necessary a policy of reparation in the shape of a recognition of the Southern States. In his opinion, neutrality, so far from being a bar, was a ground of claim to recognition. A further element in the consideration of the question was the security of Canada. It was said by some, that whenever the war closed, and in whatever way it closed, Canada would be invaded. If the Northern arms succeeded, Canada would be endangered by the drunkenness of victory; and if they failed, it would be assailed through the bitterness of anguish. The security of Canada consisted in the danger of attacking it, and it would be far more dangerous for the Northern States to make that attack if they had in their rear a power which was friendly to England. Canada might be safe as long as the great civil war raged, but we had not the power to prevent the close of the war. Other Powers would recognise the Confederacy, and peace would be restored. From the moment that separation became inevitable it was obvious that we required an ally on the other side of the Atlantic. If the war exhausted itself before we acknowledged the Confederacy, we might be in the humiliating position of finding both belligerents finally estranged, and having to defend Canada against the one and the West Indies against the other. As it appeared to him, the most convincing reason was, that this country was bound by duty to acknowledge the Southern States. He would not dwell

upon the general and abstract obligation upon neutrals to acknowledge an insurgent Power when the hazards of the contest were exhausted. But in this case there were special circumstances which ought not to be overlooked. The first was the Lancashire distress (so long endured, and, within the last few days, meeting with a more strenuous expression)—a distress which was not likely to be remedied while the large stock of cotton in America prevented the investment of money to obtain a supply from other parts of the world. The Government of Washington, above all others, considering the pledges it had given, and the debts it had incurred, must find an enormous difficulty in negotiating with the South. As well might we expect a man to perform an amputation on his own person, as to ask the North to give up their claims on the South. If the statesmen of Washington, before ordering the advance across the Potomac, had been able to foresee the disgrace and the sacrifices which they were about to bring on their countrymen, they would certainly have accepted a bloodless peace when it was offered to them. There could be little doubt that the obligations of neutrality, of honour, and good faith, would have induced the people of this country to recognise the South long ago, had it not been for certain delusions on the subject of negro Slavery which had recently been promulgated. The only issue, however, which the people had really any call to take into their consideration was this, which would be most conducive to the welfare of the negro—separation or re-conquest? It could easily be shown that the re-conquest would not be favourable to the noble cause with which had so long been associated the names of such men as Wilberforce and Buxton—whose descendants now scorned to connect themselves with the machinery which had been set up for prolonging the war, on one side of the water, by spreading fictions and calumnies on the other. In the event of separation, negro bondage must be confined within the limits in which it now existed: there would be no Fugitive-Slave Law, and the judgment of the Southern men—hitherto too often inflamed to passion by the violence of the North—would be calmly applied to discover a solution for the question. In the event of re-conquest, a servile war, with wide-spread murder and rapine, must be the inevitable preface. What security had we that the slave-trade, to which the American flag had too often been lent, would not be renewed? It had always been impossible for any British Government to obtain the right of searching suspected American vessels; but when this war began, it was immediately conceded, but he had heard it rumoured, that when the war was over it would be at once retracted. The only other sentiment which could stand in the way of recognition was a vague belief that the cause of freedom would be promoted by restoration of the ancient state of things. But the re-conquest of the South would take a Caesar or a Napoleon, and it could not be expected that a man of such a character, with the army at his back, flushed with success, would consent peaceably to lay down the immense power which he would then wield. Few men could resist the temptation to take possession of the whole Government. At the time of General McClellan's

dismissal, it was said that he could easily have led his legions to Washington and declared himself Dictator, and many censured him for not taking that course. Whether the Government would adopt the principle of recognition, or still hesitate as to taking so decided a course, he should not be the less indebted to their lordships for enabling him to shew that the neutral Powers had an indisputable title to acknowledge Southern independence, and that, until they exercised that title, the war in America would never end.

EARL RUSSELL.—My lords, I suppose there is no member of either House of Parliament who does not wish for a termination of the civil war in America. It disturbs commerce, it interferes with the peace of the world, and it afflicts America herself; and if any thing could be usefully, and, I must add, justly done to bring that war to a termination, I repeat there is no member of either House of Parliament, there is no person in the country, who would not gladly see such a consummation. But after having listened to my noble friend, I must confess I remain in the same persuasion as before at the present moment—and I speak only of the present moment—that there is nothing this country could do usefully and wisely which would tend to the termination of the hostilities on the other side of the Atlantic. My noble friend has somewhat mixed different topics, and he has alluded to three different modes of intervention in the affairs of other countries. One, which is the *minimum* of interference, that of advice, good offices, and mediation; another, the mode proposed by my noble friend, that of recognition; and the third, one which we have sometimes resorted to, and which other nations have more frequently had recourse to—that of forcible intervention. My noble friend says, and says truly, that since I had the honour of addressing the House last summer there has been some divergence between the views of the Government of this country and that of the Emperor of the French. The Government of the Emperor of the French conceived that it might tend to the termination of the war if three Powers—France, Great Britain, and Russia—were to propose a suspension of arms with a view of negotiation between the two belligerents. Her Majesty's Government, after carefully examining that proposition, came to the conclusion that its adoption by us would not be likely to lead to its acceptance by the Government of the United States of America; while, by causing irritation, it would not increase, but diminish the chances of our seeing a termination of the contest. The French Government has proceeded in accordance with its views, and has actually proposed to the Government of the United States to negotiate with the Southern States. That proposition has not been adopted; and I think your lordships will judge, from what has happened with reference to the proposals of France, and with reference to suggestions thrown out in other countries, that any interference on the part of this country would only have tended to aggravate the evils of the present lamentable state of affairs in America. It does not appear at the present moment that this contest would be likely to be terminated by an offer of our good offices. I say at the present moment, because it is impossible to say that, in the course

of events, a time may not come when both the contending parties would be desirous of the good offices or wise counsels of friendly Powers. I do not see any probability of that at this moment, but I wish to guard myself against being supposed to speak positively of the future. We come, then, to the course proposed by my noble friend, namely, that of recognition. My noble friend alluded to several cases—not very happy illustrations of his argument, I think—in which the United States of America have recognised insurgent countries which they believed likely to be able to maintain their independence. One was the revolted state of Hungary, whose independence had sunk like the island in the Mediterranean. It had disappeared before the despatch reached Vienna by which the United States recognised it. Another instance referred to by my noble friend scarcely comes within the category, though it has been quoted by a gentleman who has written some very able letters under the title of "Historicus,"—I mean the recognition of the United States themselves by France two years after the war with this country had begun. If any one will examine that precedent, and the important documents which have lately come to light, he will see that the French monarchy of the day had, most unfortunately for itself, been exciting democratic passions in America, and had been endeavouring to raise opposition there to the Government of Great Britain. It had prepared means of concert with those States; and even in the letter, so courteous in appearance, but so exceedingly hostile and bitter in its spirit, written by the French ambassador, it was stated that the French Government had not only made a treaty of commerce with the United States, but further, that they had a right to carry that treaty into effect, if necessary, even by force. This was a threat to take part in the war between Great Britain and her revolted colonies. But we know, that besides this open threat there was a secret treaty signed, by which France lent her support to the revolted provinces, and the opposition of this country, which was then as decided as ever any opposition was, agreed that the threat was one of war, and that by war only could it be met. This was not a case of recognition, but a case of interference. It was, I think, a most unjustifiable interference, an interference for the purpose of spreading those democratic principles, which afterwards reacted on France, and produced so many excesses and crimes during the revolution. Well, then, with regard to the other cases to which my noble friend has alluded, those of Portugal and Holland were cases of forcible intervention. There is hardly more than one case in which the question was limited to simple recognition: that was the war carried on between Spain and her revolted colonies, which went on from 1808 to 1822 or 1823, without any proposal for a recognition. This case is one worthy of the attention of your lordships, because it was illustrated by the mild wisdom of Lord Lansdowne, by the profound research of Sir James Mackintosh, and by the dazzling genius of Canning. We have therefore, upon this question of recognition, as much light as can possibly be thrown upon any subject. Now I beg to refer your lordships to the words of Lord Lansdowne. He was zealous for the

recognition of the South-American Provinces; he thought it would be a great advantage to this country to recognise them; and he was entirely free from any trammels of office or any obligation to consult the interests of the Minister of the day. But with that wisdom and forbearance which characterized every act of his public life, he stated that the first thing to be considered was the right, and he went on thus: "It will be my duty this night to point out to your lordships the great advantages which may result from the establishment of South-American independence. I hope I shall never stand up in this House to recommend your lordships to adopt any course of policy inconsistent with those principles of right which are paramount to all expediency, and which compose that great law of nations any departure from which, to answer a selfish and ambitious policy, never fails to recoil upon its authors." These are words upon which this House may well reflect, and we may well consider upon what grounds Lord Lansdowne founded the views which I have just brought under the notice of your lordships. In the first place, he stated it was necessary that a country which required to be recognised should have established its independence; in the next place, that it should be able to maintain that independence for the future; and, lastly, that it should be able to carry on with all foreign nations those relations of peace and amity which form the general international law of the world. Now, examine the state of the revolted provinces of Spain at that time, as Sir James Mackintosh and as Mr. Canning did. We find that the greater part of South America had been some twelve or fourteen years entirely free from the presence of Spanish armies. We find that, with regard to those provinces in which that was not absolutely the case—namely, Mexico, where Vera Cruz alone was occupied by a Spanish garrison; and Peru, where there were 4000 or 5000 Spanish troops—although the cause of Spain seemed hopeless, it was agreed that their recognition should be deferred, and that only in the case of Buenos Ayres and those parts of South America which had clearly and for a number of years established their independence would it be right for Great Britain to proceed to the step of recognition? Besides this, Mr. Canning took care to inform the Spanish Minister that such recognition would not be very long delayed; that if the Spanish Government wished to recognise them they ought to take that step; and that Great Britain was willing to give time before proceeding to recognise them herself. Well, here is a great precedent for our consideration; here is a step taken by the Government of the day after considerable care and examination; here is a course recommended by the Opposition of the day, not in any harsh spirit, but notwithstanding the conviction which this country generally entertained that the cause of Spain was hopeless, and that the independence of those provinces was firmly established. Well, now, if we look to the present position of North America, and compare it with that of the States of which Lord Lansdowne spoke, we find that the war in North America is still carried on with the utmost vigour—I had almost said, with the utmost fury. We find some of those pro-

vinces which were the first to proclaim their independence—a great part of Louisiana, New Orleans, and the banks of the Mississippi, occupied by the Federal armies. There are very considerable Federal armies menacing cities of the Confederation, such as Charleston and Savannah. So that no man can say it is a case of hopeless war. For my own part, and speaking according to my limited vision, I do not believe those efforts of the Federals will be successful. But no man can say that the war is finally over, or that the independence of the Southern States is established. Well, then, what is the present state of the case? Although great efforts have been made in vain, the great Federal Republic seems unwilling to accept the decision of events. So far from it, we find the last acts of the Congress which has just expired are to place, by conscription, every man fit to carry arms at the disposal of the President of the United States, and to vote sums of money amounting to no less than 180,000,000*l.* sterling for the purpose of carrying on the war. Well, then, in this state of affairs I should say that, looking to the question of right, it would not be a friendly act towards the United States—it would not be to fulfil our obligations to a country with which we have long maintained relations of peace and amity—a great country which says it can still carry on the war—it would, I say, be a failure of friendship on our part if, at this moment, we were to interpose and recognise the Southern States. I have endeavoured to guard myself by saying that I speak now with reference to the present aspect of affairs. I hardly know any moment in which my noble friend could have brought forward his motion with less encouragement from events. It may turn out that these immense efforts which are being made shall be made in vain; that the spirit of the South is unconquerable as their determination never to be united again with the Northern States is final and irrevocable, and that a time may come when the duty of this country will be totally different from what it is at the present moment. All I maintain is, that it is our duty at present to stand still, and not to proceed to an act so definite, so positive—an act so unfriendly to the United States as that of the recognition of the South. My noble friend spoke of various topics—of danger of Canada being attacked by the Northern Republic, and of the West Indies being attacked by the Southern. My lords, I cannot follow my noble friend into these suppositions. I do not venture to say what may be the future course of events. I confine myself to that which I think to be our duty now, which I think is right, and if that be so, we must be content in future days to meet with future dangers, and it will not enfeeble our arms if we have it in our power to reflect that we have never failed in our obligations to those which have been great States in peace and amity with us, and that it has not been any fault of ours that a great affliction has fallen on them. Well, my lords, I know not that there is any thing in what my noble friend has said to-night which would make it necessary for me to go much further into this question, but at the same time there were parts of his speech in which he referred to former occasions and former instances

of interference on our part, as if my noble friend and some of those who looked forward to his motion to-night expected that there should be some interference on our part in this war. Now, I wish to say only a few words upon that which we have done in former days by way of intervention. We, too, like other States, have at times taken upon us to intervene. We interfered in the case of Holland to save her from the religious tyranny and political despotism of Philip II. That contest was hallowed by the blood of Sir Philip Sydney, and by the part we took we contributed to her independence. In another case—the case of Portugal—we interfered. Charles I., Cromwell, Charles II., all agreed in that interference. We declared ourselves ready to send 10,000 men to the aid of the new Government of Portugal, and we helped the Portuguese to relieve themselves from the Spanish tyranny under which they groaned, and to establish the independence of their State. In more recent times, when Greece endeavoured to establish her independence, we aided her in her contest with Turkey; we rescued her from the destruction which threatened her, and helped her to found a free and independent monarchy. Take the case of Belgium again. When the Belgians declared that they were unable to remain under the Government of Holland, in accordance with the treaty of Vienna, we interfered by force, in conjunction with France, and the wise and happy arrangement was made by which the freedom of Belgium was secured. Now, my lords, in all these instances, whether the intervention was carried on by our ancestors or in our own times, there is nothing of which an Englishman need be ashamed. If we have taken part in interventions, it has been in behalf of the independence, freedom, and welfare, of a great portion of mankind. I should be sorry indeed if there should be any intervention on the part of this country which could bear another character. I trust that this will not be the case, and that no interests, deeply as they may affect us—interests which imply the wellbeing of a great portion of our people, but interests which may affect also the freedom and happiness of other parts of the globe—will induce us to set an example different from that of our ancestors; but that, when we are bound to interfere, it will be an interference in the cause of liberty, and to promote the freedom of mankind, as we have hitherto done in such cases. It is with this conviction that I have addressed these few remarks as to what has been done by this country in former days, and I trust that with regard to this civil war in America, we may be able to continue our impartial and neutral course. Depend upon it, my lords, that if that war is to cease, it is far better it should cease by a conviction, both on the part of the North and the South, that they can never live again happily as one community and one Republic, and that the termination of hostilities can never be brought about by the advice, the mediation, or the interference of any European Power. I repeat that I have spoken only of the duty of the Government at the present time, and I trust that there will now be no further debate on this subject.

After a few words from LORD STRATHEDEN the subject dropped.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1, 1863.

NOTICE.

WE beg respectfully to inform friends that their Subscriptions to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, fell due on the 1st of January, and we shall feel obliged by their remitting the amount to L. A. Chamerovzow, 27 New Broad Street, E.C., London, to whom Post-Office Orders should be made payable.

LORD STRATHEDEN AND THE SLAVEHOLDERS' CONFEDERACY.

ON Monday evening, the 23d ult., Lord Campbell, perhaps more commonly known as Lord Stratheden, brought forward a motion to the effect, "That Government should consider the propriety of acknowledging, in concert with other neutral powers, the independence of the Southern Confederacy."

This motion, essentially negative in form, nevertheless aimed at eliciting from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, an expression of opinion in favour of the recognition of the Confederacy of slaveholders. It failed in its object, dismally, ignominiously. Earl Russell first succinctly disposed of the precedents, one by one, which the mover had with much industry collated, shewing that they were impertinent to the case under consideration, and then doubted the motion itself, by significantly expressing a hope that no further discussion of the subject would take place. Apart from the very decisive intimation it proved the means of eliciting, that, in the estimation of the Government, "at the present moment, there is nothing that the country could do usefully and justly, that would tend to the termination of the war," and "that offers of mediation are likely only to provoke opposition on the part of the Government of the United States," the passage of words between Lord Stratheden and Earl Russell presented no feature of interest whatever. The motion was to have been submitted many days earlier, but the Secretary for Foreign Affairs had evidently sought, by absenting himself, to evade the threatened visitation of a speech from the over-done dreary Lord of Stratheden. The latter, indeed, querulously complained of his having been, in consequence, compelled to defer bringing the subject forward, as though all Europe were aggrieved by the postponement. Probably, had he foreseen the issue, he would have withdrawn

the motion altogether, for no one can reconcile himself to a snubbing, be the operation ever so delicately performed. The public, however, has gained by the exchange of opinions on the occasion, and we may congratulate Earl Russell upon his own modified views in relation to the expediency of a speedy recognition of the slaveholders' Confederacy.

"We have taken part, my lords," said he, "in interventions which have been in behalf of independence, in behalf of freedom, in behalf of the welfare of great portions of mankind; and I should be sorry indeed if there should be any intervention of a different character."

The assembled peers notified their approval of these worthy sentiments by repeated cries of "Hear, hear," and his lordship, thus encouraged, continued:

"I trust, my lords, that that will not be the case, and that no interests, deeply as they may affect us—interests which imply the well-being of a great portion of our people, but interests which affect also the freedom and happiness of other parts of the globe—will induce us to set an example far different from that which our ancestors set us. If ever we feel ourselves bound to interfere—and may it be seldom—I trust it will be in the cause of liberty, and in order that we may promote the freedom of mankind, as we have hitherto done in those cases. I trust, with regard to the civil war in America, that we may be able to continue our impartial and neutral course. Depend upon it, if that war is to cease, it is far better that it should cease by the conviction of both North and South that they can never live happily again in one Republic and in one community, than that a termination to hostilities should be brought about either by the advice, the mediation, or the interference of a European Power."

We agree with his lordship on the expediency of foreign interference in this domestic quarrel, but without admitting that North and South may not conclude to terminate the war, except on the conviction "that they can never live happily again in one Republic and one community." Provided Slavery disappear, the one cause of dissension will be removed. The Southerners are not fighting for independence without Slavery. Independence with no slaves would not meet the exigencies of their position, wherefore, let Slavery disappear, and independence would be to them of little value. Not that, even with Slavery, it would be long worth having. The advantages of the abominable institution, even as an agricultural system, have been marvellously over-estimated, and its political advantages would be totally nullified from the moment that it no longer secured to the slaveholders a prepon-

derant position, as a section, in the councils of the nation. Nor does it follow, that because this civil war has been very fierce and sanguinary, and engendered intense animosities, that time may not allay these, as it softened down and finally eradicated the ancient feuds between the Scotch and the British. Unquestionably, many long years of sore feeling will embitter the relations between the two sections, should they become re-united; nevertheless, history furnishes no precedent of undying hatred between two peoples, akin in blood, descent, and language, and we may therefore confidently anticipate that a new generation would witness a closer alliance, and a second, probably a perfect and a cordial re-union.

We note Earl Russell's changed views, and are at no loss to trace them to the strong expression of opinion out of doors. We believe the meetings which have been held all over the country have elicited an outburst of sentiment, for which not only his lordship, but some of his colleagues, were totally unprepared, and that he and they are literally afraid of confronting it adversely. We regret his lordship's inconsistency, and he will have to suffer the penalty of the contempt which all right-minded men must feel for a statesman who evidently shapes his course only to suit the popular tide. The actual merits of the question at issue between North and South are now what they were when Parliament opened; yet, on that occasion, he gravely alleged that "the subjugation of the South by the North would be an exceeding great calamity." We confess our inability to see it. But how, then, can his lordship "trust" that any interference on our part may be "in favour of the freedom of mankind," when he regards as a calamity the suppression of a rebellion which has had its origin in a sole desire to consolidate and perpetuate Slavery? Such a contradiction indicates a lamentable weakness of judgment, or an extraordinary and unpardonable amount of prejudice on the wrong side, much to be deplored in one who has acquired a reputation chiefly because he has heretofore advocated free institutions, and stood the champion of liberty.

With regard to Lord Stratheden, a weak cause has fallen into the hands of the weakest of advocates. His Lordship is simply ignorant—wholly ignorant—of the American question, and could not have commanded five minutes' attention for his heavy platitudes in any other assembly. From the platform of any one of those enormous gatherings which have recently been held, he would have been simply hooted down, not because his preachings were against sentiment and principle, but against facts. To take upon himself to assert that the war is a hopeless war, in so far as the North is

concerned, was a piece of gratuitous impertinence, and Earl Russell very properly pointed out that it was not in any one's competency justly to describe it as such, so long as the North not only holds its own, but the chief ports of the Southern States, absolutely, and others closely beleaguered. As for the assumption that recognition would lead to the abolition of Slavery, because recognition implies Southern independence, it is a gross absurdity, hazarded in utter ignorance of the avowed design of the Southern rebellion; and there is not a Southern leader who would not say as much. For the sake of the cause of abolition, however, we rejoice that the discussion has taken place, for the public mind will now rest satisfied that the slaveholders have no chance of recognition yet, at the hands of Her Majesty's Government.

Original Correspondence.

(Coolie Emigration.)

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

"Montego Bay, Feb. 23, 1863.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It is known to you that I have always been an opponent of Coolie immigration. I have always maintained that our population is far in excess of what our planters and pen-keepers are able to employ, and that nothing but evil could result from a large introduction of helpless heathen into our land. We were, however, so frequently told of the benefits which had flowed from the introduction of Coolies into Trinidad and Demerara, that we were almost compelled to feel that further opposition would be wrong. I for one, though retaining my conviction, determined for a time to be silent. For the last two years, therefore, the planters have had it their own way. Vessel after vessel has reached our shores laden with these ill-fated and deluded creatures; and, that no further complaints might be made, the Duke of Newcastle announced that our planters might for the future enter into contracts for five years. And now what is the result? Why, just what the best friends of the colony predicted. Our island debt has been largely increased; our own population has been thrown out of employment, and the planters have once more taught the peasantry of the island that they are utterly dependent upon them. And what have we gained? Crime, vagrancy, disease, and death; a bad name for our planters, many of whom do not deserve it; and, I fear, the righteous displeasure of a just God. The number of deaths that have occurred amongst the Coolies last imported must be fearful; the streets of our town are daily filled with naked and starving vagabonds; and our poor-houses are opened for the reception of those who ought, in all fairness and honesty, to be chargeable to the estates, the proprietors of which sent for them. A month or two ago several of these poor creatures died upon an estate on the south side of the island, when an inquest was held, and a verdict returned

that their death was the result of neglect. Three or four weeks ago another jury was empannelled to view the body of a poor creature who had died on an estate not far from this town, and the verdict returned was, 'died from starvation.' In the majority of cases, however, they die, are buried, and no one hears any thing about it. Only in the month of December, a poor creature in Hanover parish complained that he could not work, and the Sirdar told him to go and lie down. The manager of the property, however, insisted that he should work, and flogged him severely with a stick. In a few days the poor fellow was dead. Two weeks after, the body was exhumed, and an inquest held, when the jury returned a verdict that he died from congestive fever. The floggings which have taken place have been numerous and severe. The hon. Mr. Whitelocke has himself stated that he knew of one case where several of these poor creatures were sick, and the estate would only allow them *one shilling per week, and compelled them to take half that sum in cocoa-nuts.* A few planters, who have entered into contract with these people, have, I believe, kept faith with them; but I am compelled to state it as my belief that the majority have not done so. The Government must of course have known this; but I am not aware that in any one instance they have prosecuted those who have not kept the contract; and it is, I imagine, on this account, that they feel so sensitive when exposed, and are resorting to most unjustifiable means to silence those who feel it to be their duty to speak out. To illustrate what I mean, let me give you a fact that will startle you. There is, in the parish of Westmoreland, a curate of the Established Church—a good man, and one who for years has laboured earnestly for the good of the people. A month or two ago he wrote a letter to the *Guardian* newspaper, in which he severely censured the conduct of the Government in not protecting the Coolies. For this the Government has sent out against him an action for libel, and a true bill has been found against him. He will, if any opportunity be afforded him, fully prove all he has said, but will be put to great trouble and expense in doing so, and it is almost certain he will be found guilty. Were I to publish this letter in the colony, I have no doubt that I should be placed in a similar position to Mr. Clark, and it is only for this reason that I do not put my name to the communication. Whether they will be bold enough to prosecute the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* I cannot tell. The success which has been secured in the case of Mr. Gordon, who has been dismissed the magistracy for the exposure of a very great abuse, will, I fear, induce them to try their strength with other individuals equally obnoxious, because equally unable to look upon wrong-doing without exposing it. But silent I cannot be. I should feel myself a *particeps criminis*, did I allow the abominable system of Coolie immigration to go on without uttering my protest against it. The people not being able to speak the English language, find it difficult to make known their wrongs, but enough has been told to convince all persons that the poor creatures have been most wickedly deceived.

"They were told that they would be placed over the people, and that their wages would be from three to four shillings per day, and now they find they cannot earn as much in a week, and that the employment is different from any thing they have ever been used to: as a consequence, they have become sullen or dispirited, and will not work at all. They are not more dissatisfied with the country and their masters, however, than are the planters disappointed with them: this is seen in the fact, that in no case has the planter been willing to have them re-indentured when the term of contract has expired. As a consequence, numbers are wandering about the country without any employment, and must either beg, steal, or starve. A fresh cargo arrived a few weeks ago at the port from which I write. They were, of course, all engaged before they were sent for, but not a single planter will now have any thing to do with them. As they who ordered them entered into bond with the Government, I cannot see how they can be released from their engagement, but have no doubt facilities will be afforded them for escape; and another lot of poor creatures will be thrown helpless upon the community, linger a few weeks in misery, and then find a resting-place in the grave. Since writing the above, the Governor has compelled those who ordered the Coolies to take them. But is the system to go on? That is the question I would put to your many readers. Is there to be a slave-trade carried on between India and Jamaica? For a slave-trade this Coolie immigration unquestionably is. If money is not paid for this people in India, they are decoyed hither by deceit. When here, they are not free men: they are starved, flogged, and hurried into an early grave. They speak a strange tongue. When their complaints are listened to at all, it is in private, and I have no doubt, in my own mind, that justice is denied them. Our Governor, C. W. Darling, is at home. To him we are indebted for this fresh evil. Will he, with all the knowledge he now has, justify its continuance? I believe the Duke of Newcastle is by this time in possession of facts which will compel him to interfere, if it be only for the protection of Her Majesty's subjects in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. I went on board the last vessel but one that brought Coolies here, about six months ago. The vessel was a beautiful one. The captain and the officers were evidently gentlemen, and had cared for the people they had brought. The people themselves were fine, strong, muscular men and women, for the most part quite young. Look at those of them who now survive: they are walking skeletons, the most pitiable and distressing objects imaginable. I could not have believed that in so short a time there could have been such a change. Many of them were children, full of fun, and ready for a romp. Now their countenances are full of care, and indicate terrible suffering. Surely something will be done to prevent any further importation, especially as the planters have united in our House of Assembly in opposing a Government Bill which seeks to throw some little protection over these poor strangers.

"We are doing a little here for the suffering operatives in Lancashire. A parish meeting was

held last month, when the subscription was headed by a member of my own congregation with the sum of 50*l*. The times here are very hard just now, but I hope there will be a desire felt to help those so much worse off than ourselves. About 150*l*. have been collected in this parish."

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

MANY friends of abolition have expressed the opinion that the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have not gone far enough in their approval of the policy of President Lincoln, more especially with regard to his Proclamation of Emancipation. Less with any view to justify the course of the Committee, than that parties who desired them to abstain from all comment upon the unavoidable shortcomings of that instrument may judge how far their objections have any reasonable foundation, we append the copy of a resolution passed by the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, which, it will be found, somewhat severely censures the President's course, because it was not, in the estimation of those veterans in the cause, radical enough.

THE PROCLAMATION.

"Proclaim liberty throughout ALL the land, to ALL the inhabitants thereof."

"At a special Meeting of the Executive Committee of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, held at the Society's Rooms, Tuesday, January 13th, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That this Committee heartily unite in the general joy and thanksgiving expressed in view of the emancipation of three millions of slaves in the revolted States, by the Proclamation of President Lincoln, January 1st, 1863, and regard that measure as constitutionally warranted by the nature of the rebellion, and the perilous condition of the Government and nation; nevertheless, they deem it due to truth and justice to declare, that the President has been derelict to his duty in exempting any part of the Slave States, or any portion of the slave population, from the operation of his beneficent decree; inasmuch as it is admitted by him, in his recent message to Congress, what is patent to all intelligent men, that Slavery and rebellion are synonymous terms, and therefore both must be suppressed, or disunion will be inevitable.

"Resolved, That there is no evidence that, in any of the States exempted by the Proclamation, there is, or would be, a controlling spirit of loyalty to the Government, for one hour, independent of the presence of a Northern army upon its soil: on the contrary, there is every reason to believe that the withdrawal of that army would be quickly followed by a rebellious outbreak that would crush or drive out all local loyalty, and lead to a vigorous co-operation with the Southern Confederacy.

"Resolved, That the number of loyal slaveholders (if there be any such) is too insignificant to be regarded in the treatment of the rebellion

by the Government; and therefore they can have no just cause of complaint if universal emancipation be proclaimed to save the country, especially if provision be made to secure them from pecuniary loss.

"Resolved, That the President, in this terrible crisis, may as rightfully decree the emancipation of all the slaves, as of three millions, and is solemnly bound to finish what he has so largely performed; and that to attempt to keep a million of slaves in their chains, while essaying to liberate other millions in a similar condition, is to present a revolting spectacle to the civilized world, to create snares and pitfalls for the Government, to render the struggle for the suppression of the rebellion uselessly prolonged and bloody, and to peril meanwhile our free institutions.

"WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President*.
"WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Rec. Sec.*"

THE NEGRO AND WHITE LABOURER IN THE SOUTH.

A CORRESPONDENT attached to the staff of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* has addressed a communication to the Editor, from the interior of Louisiana, on the subject of the organization of free-labour in the South, from which we make the following extracts, presenting facts which have special interest at this crisis:

"Starting with that fact as an axiom, and adding to it that other fact I have before mentioned, and which will very shortly reduce itself to an axiom also, viz. that the negroes of Louisiana are *already*, to all intents and purposes, as free as they ever can be, it becomes interesting to men of enterprise, both in the North and South, to study how they can turn the present state of things to the best account. That a negro is going to work as well in freedom as he did under the lash in Slavery, nobody believes; but it is equally wrong to imagine that his labour is to lose all value if he loses his fetters, and that it is not possible for machinery and other appliances of human ingenuity (even supposing the negro works only half as well) to get out of these splendid lands far more wealth of produce than they ever yielded under the old state of things.

"I have taken some trouble to inquire into this matter among those best acquainted with the subject, and never before were such tempting chances open to enterprise and capital. The fact is, that seven-tenths of the planters here are insolvent, and many were so through their own extravagance long before the war commenced. The most magnificent estates that, in palmy days, could only be held by the wealthy, are now so eaten up by mortgage and neglect as to be within reach of the small capitalist.

"A Southern gentleman, well known and respected, in this community, has propounded a plan to me which appears to deserve public attention. Seeing, as many other intelligent Southerners do, that Slavery, as an institution, is doomed for ever, he has set his wits to work to see how, out of its shattered fragments, may be collected the materials to graft upon free-labour. His plan is to reorganize labour upon something

similar to what is known as the *community or whaling* system, viz. to make the producers jointly interested with the capitalists.

"To illustrate the probable working of his plan, let us take a plantation of 75 hands, which usually makes, under good management, 750 hogsheads, worth now, with the molasses, dols. 75,000. This estate, with all its mules, carts, implements, machinery, &c. (the interest of which, in former times, at 7 per cent., would have been at least dols. 20,000), can now be rented for dols. 10,000. The cash expenses of the year would be as follows:

75 hands—food and clothing	
(dol. 1.50 per week each)	dols. 5850 . 00
Other cash expenses.	4200 . 00

Total	dols. 10,050 . 00
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"All the other cash expenses of the year are prospective, can be met out of the crop, and will amount to dols. 15,000 or 25,000 in all; deducting which from dols. 75,000, leaves a net profit of dols. 50,000. This profit is supposed to be divided as follows:

To the free-labourers, about	
dols. 214 each	dols. 16,000 . 00
To the capitalist and managers	34,000 . 00

Total	50,000 . 00
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"But suppose the negroes only produce half a crop. In that case the expenses would be reduced to dols. 20,000, leaving the capitalist and managers nearly dols. 12,000, or over one hundred per cent. on the capital actually used.

"I am credibly informed that this free-labour system is already in operation here, and working admirably. On the Kinmore plantation, seventy-five white hands (who says nobody but negroes can work here?) got off 100 hogsheads in twelve days, worth, with molasses, about dols. 11,000. The Ashton plantation, with eighty free negroes, got off 140 hogsheads in seven days; and others in the same manner that I could go on enumerating. The subject admits of endless illustration, and I propose to come back to it when I have visited some of the plantations, which I hope to do in a day or two, to see the practical working of the system. It is not only a social but commercial revolution of great magnitude, and of which we cannot tell the result till we see Yankee steam-ploughs and Yankee steam every thing at work in the fat delta of the Mississippi."

Another writer for the same journal speaks thus of the employment of white labour in the South:

"The notion that white men cannot labour in the South has been upset during this war, along with a great many other popular prejudices. Unacclimated whites have withstood the worst climatic influences of South Carolina and the Gulf, and have freely laboured in the open air. The heavy work on the levee in New Orleans has always been done by white labourers. In a recent speech in New Orleans, Colonel T. B. Thorpe, the city surveyor, said he had hundreds of white men working for his department during four of the hottest months of an unprecedentedly hot summer, on the burning levee, and in the ditches, and draining canals in the rear of the city, up to their waists in mud and water, and

yet they continued well and healthy—had no more sickness than others who were not so exposed. He saw no reason why the poor man might not cultivate a few acres, raise his bale or two of cotton, or a few hogsheads of sugar, as easily as the farmers of the North and West their corn and potatoes. It was certainly just as easy to raise cotton or sugar, and not more unhealthy, than working on the levee or in the ditches of the city."

BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

MANCHESTER UNION AND EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

THE following resolutions have been adopted by the *Union and Emancipation Society*.

"That in the opinion of the Executive of the *Union and Emancipation Society* of Manchester, the conduct of the Lord Mayor of London, in publicly recognising a Commissioner of the Southern Confederacy, and author of the infamous *Fugitive-Slave Law*, is deserving of their most indignant denunciation, as tending to give the appearance of English sanction and sympathy to a system that is execrated by every man and woman whose conscience and instincts are unpolluted by contact with the 'sum of all villainies.'"

The subjoined was forwarded officially to the Premier, the Secretaries for the Foreign and Home Departments, the Attorney-General, and the Speaker of the House of Commons:

"That the Executive of the *Union and Emancipation Society* of Manchester has heard with feelings of humiliation that certain Englishmen, including some members of the British House of Commons are concerned in the illegal enterprise of building and fitting out piratical ships, in aid of the American Slaveholders' Confederacy, contrary to public policy, national honour, and the Queen's proclamation of neutrality. The Executive hereby records its protest against all such disreputable practices, and calls upon Parliament and Her Majesty's Government to institute the needful steps forthwith to bring these delinquents before a tribunal of public justice, and to put an effectual stop to all such proceedings."

Offices, 51 Piccadilly, Manchester,
March 3d, 1863.

The following letter from the Foreign Office has been received by Mr. Thomas B. Potter, President of the *Union and Emancipation Society*, respecting the building of war vessels for the Confederates similar to the *Alabama*:

"Foreign Office, March 11th, 1863.

"Sir,—I am directed by Earl Russell to acknowledge the receipt of the copy, signed by you, of a resolution of the executive of the *Union and Emancipation Society* of Manchester, dated the 3d instant, in which that Society records its protest against the building and fitting out in this country of armed vessels for the Government of the so-styled Confederate States, and calls upon Parliament and Her Majesty's Govern-

ment to put an effectual stop to such proceedings.

"I am, in reply, to request that you will call the attention of the Executive of the Society to the provisions of the Act 59 George III. cap. 69. It will be observed in that Act that evidence on oath is required to enable proceedings to be taken against persons charged with contravening it.

"I am Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "E. HAMMOND,

"THOMAS B. POTTER, Esq., President of the *Union and Emancipation Society* of Manchester, 51 Piccadilly, Manchester."

The following petition, on behalf of the *Union and Emancipation Society* of Manchester, has been transmitted to Mr. Bright, for presentation to the House of Commons, and to the Duke of Argyle, for presentation to the House of Lords:

"The Petition of the *Union and Emancipation Society* for the North of England,

"Respectfully sheweth:

"That the *Union and Emancipation Society* originated on the 31st December last, at a Meeting held in the Free-Trade Hall, Manchester, at which at least 6000 persons were present, and since then it has received the support of large public meetings held in various towns in the North of England.

"That the objects of this Society are to spread sound information respecting the origin and causes of the unfortunate struggle now raging in America, to support the efforts being made by the United States to secure the entire abolition of negro Slavery, and to ensure a practical neutrality on the part of England as between the two belligerents.

"That having these objects in view, the attention of your petitioners has been directed to the building and fitting out of war-ships for one of the belligerents, in violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act and of the Queen's proclamation.

"That your petitioners have read the intercepted despatches from the 'so-styled' Confederate Government to their agents in Europe, which, in the opinion of your petitioners, establish beyond doubt an intention on the part of the said Government to contract for the building of war-ships in this country, and to connect certain of Her Majesty's subjects with these illegal transactions.

"That your petitioners are informed on reliable authority, that in pursuance of instructions in the said despatches some forty war-ships are now being built in the United Kingdom, which are really intended for the Confederate Government, although ostensibly they are being built for the Emperor of China, or some other equally unlikely potentate.

"That your petitioners have heard with profound regret and deep sorrow, that a ship called the *Alabama*, built by an English firm under similar circumstances, has, according to the most recent accounts, destroyed or captured, under circumstances of unusual atrocity, about

forty ships engaged in the peaceful pursuit of commerce.

"That the proceedings of the *Alabama* have given rise to a feeling of great irritation in the United States, and your petitioners fear that if more ships of the same character, and for the same object, are allowed to leave this country, this feeling will increase to such an extent as to jeopardize the peaceful relations of the two nations.

"That waiving, in the mean time, all question as to the morality of supplying armed assistance to people now in arms against the Government of their country for the avowed purpose of extending and perpetuating Slavery, and who have also avowed that 'Slavery is the cornerstone of their constitution,' your Petitioners are of opinion that a war with the United States, arising out of the building and fitting out of these ships would be a conflict in defence of our own dishonour, and in support of a breach of our own laws, and, as such, would be viewed with horror and disgust by the vast population of the North of England.

"That your petitioners are fully aware of the difficulties which surround this question; and although they are in possession of voluminous evidence, tending to establish the facts complained of, they admit that they are not in a position to produce such evidence upon oath, as will criminate the guilty parties. That whilst your Petitioners recognise the principle, that no man ought to be held guilty of a violation of the law, excepting on the most clear and incontestable evidence, they nevertheless submit, that in all other supposed breaches of the criminal law of this country, it is sufficient to establish a *prima facie* case in order to put the law in motion. That your petitioners believe, that if Her Majesty's Government were to apply the same principle to the present case, they would have no insuperable difficulty in obtaining such evidence as would enable them to vindicate the law, and the honour of the nation.

"Your petitioners, therefore, having regard to the momentous interests at stake, would respectfully urge your Honourable House to take such steps as shall induce Her Majesty's Government to make immediate inquiry into the alleged facts; and by prompt action to stop the sailing of any more war-ships intended for the 'so-styled' Confederate Government.

"And your Petitioners will pray.

"On behalf of the *Union and Emancipation Society* of Manchester,

"THOMAS BAYLEY POTTER, President.

"Offices, 51, Piccadilly, Manchester, March 23d, 1863."

Meeting s.—On Wednesday evening, the 25th February, a public meeting was held in the Corn Hall, Cirencester, the Hon. A. Ponsonby in the chair; Speakers, Mr. Isaac Pitt, the Rev. John T. Dredge, Mr. Thomas Brewin, Mr. John Bircham, Mr. George Thompson (of London), the Revs. J. Stratford, Mr. Alexander, and Mr. W. L. Cooke.

On Friday evening, the 6th ult., by the *Leicester Emancipation Society*, in the Tem-

perance Hall, Leicester, Mr. Samuel Baines in the chair; Speakers, the Rev. R. Bell (Wesleyan Minister), Mr. Councillor Viccars, Mr. E. Kellett, Mr. Latchmore, and the Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, and Mr. George Thompson, who attended as a deputation from the *London Emancipation Society*.

On Monday evening, the 9th, at Stretford, under the auspices of the *Manchester Union and Emancipation Society*, James Kelsall, Esq., in the chair.

On Wednesday evening, the 11th, a lecture by Mr. Henry Vincent, in the Public Hall, Ramsay, Huntingdon; subject, "The American Question;" the Rev. C. H. Bingham, M.A., vicar of the parish, in the chair: admission by tickets at 2s. and 1s. each: the hall crowded.

On the same evening, in the Corn Exchange, Newark, a large meeting to express sympathy with the emancipation policy of the United-States' Government, the Rev. Mr. Attenborough in the chair; Speakers, Mr. George Thompson (London), Mr. Brooks, Mr. Harris, Mr. Earle, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Pinder, and Mr. Smith.

On Thursday evening, the 12th, in the Carlton Hall, Southampton, Alderman Palk, J.P., in the chair; Speakers, Alderman Clark, J.P.; the Rev. E. Kell, M.A.; the Rev. Thos. James; E. Hearne, Esq., M.B.; Wm. Randell, Esq., J.P.; Mr. R. Smith, and Mr. Geo. Thompson, and the Rev. J. H. Rylance, who attended as a deputation from the *London Emancipation Society*.

On Monday evening, the 16th, Mr. Peter Sinclair addressed a large meeting in the Chapel Street Chapel school-room, Salford, on the subject of the struggle in North America, Mr. John Hewitt, solicitor, in the chair.

On the same evening, a lecture on "Facts and Fallacies concerning the American Civil War," delivered in the Market Hall, Chesterfield, by the Rev. D. W. Haley, late chaplain in the United-States' army under General Burnside, Thos. Jones, Esq., the Mayor, in the chair. A resolution in support of the emancipation policy of the Federal Government was moved by the Rev. Francis Bishop, seconded by Mr. M. T. Dalton, and carried unanimously.

On the 17th, a large meeting in the school-room of the Congregational Chapel, Camden Road, Holloway, the Rev. Mark Wilks in the chair; Speakers, Messrs. Washington Wilks, H. J. Slack, and Lyndon, a deputation from the *Emancipation Society*.

On the same evening, Mr. George Thompson lectured to a crowded audience in the Corn Exchange Assembly Room, Preston, Mr. Hay, Superintendent of the Preston Circuit (Wesleyan), in the chair. Subject: "The Cause and the Cure; or,

Slavery the Cause of the American War, and Emancipation the only Remedy." The lecture was preparatory to the holding of a Town's Meeting, for the adoption of resolutions and an address to President Lincoln. Previous to the lecture a number of the friends of the anti-slavery cause met to take tea in the Friends' Meeting-house. Mr. Thompson was present, and was occupied for two hours in answering questions and giving information relating to the abolition movement in the United States.

On the 20th, Mr. Peter Sinclair lectured on the American crisis, in the New Windsor school-room, Salford, the Rev. T. G. Lee in the chair.

On Monday evening, the 23rd, a meeting at the Literary Institute, Nelson Street, Woolwich, Mr. W. P. Jackson, proprietor of the *Kentish Independent*, in the chair; Speakers, B. C. Watts, the Rev. C. Denison (the gentleman who came over in the *George Griswold*), the Rev. Sella Martin, Mr. R. Ruegg, the Rev. J. Teale, the Rev. J. H. Rylance, and Messrs. Washington Wilks, &c. The meeting was largely attended, and resolutions were passed approving of President Lincoln's emancipation policy.

On Tuesday, the 24th, a conference of ministers of the gospel connected with the *Emancipation Society*, and others specially invited, was held at 65 Fleet Street, to consider what steps should be taken with respect to the address on Slavery which had been sent to the clergymen and pastors of this country from their brethren in France. The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel presided, and, having offered a prayer, explained the purpose for which the conference was held. The Rev. Dr. Massie then made a statement, in which he glanced at the circumstances under which the address to the ministers in this country by their brethren in France had originated. It had, he said, been signed by 750 pastors. Its language on Slavery was most appropriate, and he hoped it would be answered in a fraternal and reciprocal spirit by the Christian pastors of this country; and that they would endeavour, as far as in them lay, to give effect to the principles it enunciated. After some conversation, in which the Rev. Dr. Burns, the Rev. Mr. Galloway, the Rev. Mr. Thompson, the Rev. Mr. Dorling, and others, took part, the draft of an answer to the French pastors was adopted; and it was agreed that efforts should be made to get it signed extensively by Christian ministers in this country.

On Wednesday evening, the 25th, a large meeting in the Southgate Road Chapel, the Rev. James Spong in the chair; Speakers, Messrs. John Gorrie and Hugh Williams (a deputation from the *Emancipation Society*), the Rev. Dr. Massie and Mr. Lyndall.

On Thursday evening, the 26th, a large

meeting of the London Trades' Unionists, in St. James' Hall, John Bright, Esq., M.P., in the chair. Speeches were delivered by Mr. Bright, by Mr. Howell (bricklayer), Mr. Odgers (shoemaker), Mr. Muntz (composer), Mr. Cremer (joiner), Professor Beesley, Mr. Connolly (mason), Mr. Petheridge (joiner), Mr. Heap (engineer), Mr. Facey (painter), Mr. Butler (tin-plate worker), and an address to President Lincoln was unanimously adopted. The meeting was densely crowded.

The *Liverpool Emancipation Society* intend holding a meeting, and issuing an address denouncing the Confederate loan. They have also agreed to memorialize the Government to prosecute the parties who fitted out the *Alabama*. It is currently reported in Liverpool, that it is for the purpose of repaying those persons that the loan has been negotiated; but there can be little doubt that the money will be, to some extent, applied to the fitting out of other ships, and the purchase of munitions of war in this country, to aid the Confederates.

Reviews.

Freedom and Slavery in the United States of America. By the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Wriothlesley Noel. London: James Nisbet and Co., 21 Berners Street.

THIS small volume is announced as one of a series, which it is purposed shall set the whole question of "Freedom and Slavery" before the public, in a form at once comprehensive and popular. The reverend author does not come new into the anti-slavery field. His eloquent voice and pen were employed in the old struggle for emancipation in the British colonies, and the American crisis finds him again in harness, and ready to do battle for the oppressed. The present volume sets forth, under two heads, a class of facts tending to shew the state of religion and morality in the United States, and what Slavery is in the Slave States. Authorities are quoted for the statements which illustrate the subject, and no one can rise from a perusal of the work without feeling that the author has admirably vindicated the cause of freedom. We recommend the volume most cordially, as a valuable accession, at this particular juncture, to the history of our own times.

The Story of the Life of John Anderson, the Fugitive Slave. Edited by Harper Twelvetees, M.A. London: W. Tweedie, 337 Strand.

MR. TWELVETEES was chairman of the Committee which took up John Anderson, upon his arrival in this country. The volume he has edited will be read with in-

terest, presenting, as it does, in a connected narrative, the various incidents of John Anderson's life, which were submitted, in a desultory form, to the public, while his case was under the consideration of the authorities.

Lloyd's Railway and Military Map of the United States and Canada. London: Bacon and Co., 48 Paternoster Row.

THIS excellent map, giving 30,793 miles of railways, and designating every station, and 2120 counties, coloured superbly, may be had in sheets, for 2s. 6d.; for 8s. mounted on cloth, in case; and for 10s. 6d. on a roller, and varnished. It is a most useful map, either for the traveller, or for the student of American contemporaneous history.

The same firm advertises *Colton's Steel-plate Map of the United States, Canada, Mexico, the West Indies, &c.*, at the price of 5s. in sheets; 9s. in case, and 10s. on roller. It shews the boundaries of the Free States, the Border Slave States, and the Seceded States; gives the census of 1860, (the last,) a plan of the forts and fortifications, the area of the States, their imports and exports, and other items of useful information, all in a highly-convenient form for immediate reference. It is the cheapest thing of the kind that we have seen, and no anti-slavery library can be complete without it.

Advertisements.

MESSRS. SAMPSON LOW, SON & CO., English, American, and Colonial Booksellers and Publishers, 47 Ludgate Hill, E.C., have on sale the following Anti-Slavery Publications:

Olmsted . . .	<i>The Cotton Kingdom</i> 2 vols., 21s.
Ellison . . .	<i>Slavery and Secession</i> , 10s. 6d.
Helper . . .	<i>Impending Crisis</i> , 7s. 6d.
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Arthur . . .	<i>American Question</i> , 3d.
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Gasparin, . .	<i>America before Europe</i> , 9d.
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Sewell's . . .	<i>Ordeal of Free Labour</i> , 7s. 6d.

Messrs. S. Low, Son and Co. also publish the "Rebellion Record," a most valuable collection of facts and documents relating to the Slaveholders' Rebellion, all from authentic sources. Four volumes are now ready, price 21s. each.

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BACON'S GUIDE TO AMERICAN POLITICS.

London; BACON & Co., 48 Paternoster Row.

Among the contents are, the Federal and Confederate Constitutions, the origin of each, and the points of difference between them.—Theory of Government.—Secession Ordinances.—The Admission of New States.—The Government of the

Territories.—The Public Lands.—An Abstract of the last Census.—The comparative resources of North and South.—The Federal Navy of 1863, &c. &c.

The object of this book is to give a clear and brief explanation of the fundamental principles of the American Government. A knowledge of these principles, it must be admitted, is essential to a proper understanding of the political news we are constantly receiving, and a correct comprehension of the principles involved in the great contest now raging in the New World. It is believed that this work is especially adapted to that object.

(Shortly) **THE AMERICAN ALMANAC AND ANNUAL RECORD**, for 1863. Containing the last Census Details—Diary of Events of the War.—The new Tariff—American Resources—The Acts of Congress—Railways and Canals, etc. 500 pages. 12mo. cloth, 7s. 6d.

THE REBELLION RECORD, a Diary of Events, Incidents, Official Documents, &c. Northern and Southern. An impartial and comprehensive history of the present struggle. Edited by F. MOORE. 4 vols. Royal 8vo. 21s. each.

SLAVERY AND SECESSION: Historical and Economical. By THOMAS ELLISON, Esq., F.S.S. With Map and numerous Appendices of State Papers, Population Returns, New and Old Tariffs, &c., forming a Complete Manual of Reference on all matters connected with the War. Second Edition enlarged. One vol., post 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

VICTOR'S HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN REBELLION AND CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA; a clear and connected narrative of the great contest. Vol. I. is now ready, and includes the entire Secession movement, the cause and early progress of the War. Royal 8vo. 600 pages. Price 15s. per vol.

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The above Narrative contains some account of Missouri, the Birthplace of Anderson—Anderson's Slave Life—His Marriage—His Change of Masters—His Flight—His encounter with the Slaveholder Diggs—His Journey through the Backwoods to Canada—His Six Years' Residence on Free Soil—His Arrest on a charge of Murder, and all the Legal Proceedings arising therefrom—His Discharge—His arrival in England—His Public Reception in London—His Visits to various parts of England—His Education at Corby, Northamptonshire, under the auspices of the "Anderson Committee"—and an Account of the Proceedings at the Farewell Soirée held in London, prior to Anderson's Departure for Liberia in December 1862.

The above work is published under the auspices of the "John Anderson Committee" in aid of the Fund for the Education of Anderson.

London: WILLIAM TWEEDIE, 337 Strand; and all Booksellers.

Price 7s. 6d. cloth,

THE FUTURE OF AFRICA:

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